

## Message Text

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ACTION ARA-14

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 IO-13 AF-10 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05  
H-01 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01  
SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 ACDA-07 EB-07 OMB-01 TRSE-00  
EUR-12 NEA-10 /121 W  
-----098333 181132Z/15

P R 181030Z JUL 77  
FM AMEMBASSY GEORGETOWN  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 4929  
INFO AMEMBASSY BRIDGETOWN  
AMEMBASSY KINGSTON  
AMEMBASSY PORT OF SPAIN  
USMISSION USUN

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 GEORGETOWN 1547

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: CU, GY  
SUBJECT: CUBAN CONSULTATION ON AFRICAN AND OTHER ISSUES

SUMMARY: CASTRO RECENTLY SENT AN EMISSARY TO GEORGETOWN FOR DISCUSSIONS WITH GOG LEADERS, AND REPORTEDLY IS DOING THE SAME IN OTHER NAM CAPITALS. HE REPORTEDLY IS ENCOURAGING FORMATION OF AN ASSOCIATION OF RADICAL STATES ON THE EASTERN HORN OF AFRICA AND IS SEEKING GOG SUPPORT FOR CONTINUING CUBAN PRESENCE IN ANGOLA. THE EMISSARY SAID OBJECTIVE OF RAPPROCHEMENT WITH US WAS LIFTING OF TRADE EMBARGO, AND INQUIRED RE GOG POSITION ON CUBAN ROLE IN BELIZE AND AID TO AFRICAN LIBERATION MOVEMENTS. ON MOST QUESTIONS, FONMIN WILLS CLAIMS THAT CASTRO'S EMISSARY GOT NON-COMMITAL ANSWERS AND ON AFRICAN ISSUES GOG WILL FIRST SEE WHAT POSITION OAU ADOPTS BEFORE DECIDING. WILLS SUSPECTS SOVIETS ARE WORKING THROUGH CUBANS TO STRENGTHEN THEIR HAND IN THE MIDDLE EAST WORKING FROM EAST AFRICAN HORN, AND THAT CUBANS STRIVING TO INCREASE THEIR INFLUENCE IN NAM PRIOR TO MEETINGS IN BELGRADE 1978

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AND IN HAVANA 1979. END SUMMARY.

1. DURING A MEETING WITH CHARGE, FONMIN WILLS SAID THAT A MEMBER OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE CUBAN COMMUNIST PARTY, RAUL VALDEZ VIVO, HAD VISITED GUYANA DURING LAST WEEK IN JUNE. VIVO HAD MET WITH PRIME MINISTER BURNHAM, DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER REID, MINISTER

OF EDUCATION TEEKAH AND WILLS. CASTRO HAD ASKED HIM TO CONSULT WITH AND BRIEF GOG OFFICIALS CONCERNING CASTRO'S VIEWS ON ISSUES OF INTEREST TO NAM MEMBERS. SPECIFIC TOPICS WERE MIDDLE EASTERN AND AFRICAN MATTERS, BELIZE AND THE PANAMA CANAL. CASTRO WAS SENDING EMISSARIES TO VARIOUS NAM CAPITOLS FOR SIMILAR CONSULTATIONS.

2. VIVO REPORTEDLY TOLD THE GUYANESE THAT CASTRO WANTED TO ENCOURAGE THE FORMATION OF AN ASSOCIATION OF RADICAL STATES IN THE EASTERN HORN OF AFRICA, INCLUDING ETHIOPIA, SOMALIA, DJIBUTI, AND SOUTH YEMEN. CASTRO WANTED LIBYA TO STOP SUPPORTING THE ERITREAN SECESSION.

3. POINTS MADE BY VIVO WERE THAT: (1) THE INTEGRITY OF THE ETHIOPIAN STATE SHOULD BE SAFEGUARDED; (2) THERE SHOULD BE NOT TERRITORIAL DISSOLUTION OF SOMALIA; (3) ANY RESIDUE OF THE FRENCH PRESENCE IN DJIBUTI SHOULD BE OPPOSED; AND (4) THE PLO SHOULD BE SUPPORTED AND ITS MILITARY CAPACITY STIFFENED. HE ALSO REQUESTED GOG SUPPORT OF CONTINUING CUBAN PRESENCE IN ANGOLA. VIVO DENIED CUBAN INTERVENTION IN ZAIRE AND BLAMED THE UNITED STATES AND THE FRENCH FOR THE "INTERNATIONALIZATION OF THE CONFLICT."

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4. VIVO REQUESTED GUYANESE VIEWS CONCERNING A POSSIBLE REQUEST BY THE AFRICAN LIBERATION MOVEMENTS FOR CUBAN ASSISTANCE IF THEY WERE ATTACKED BY SMITH. HE ALSO WANTED GUYANA'S VIEWS CONCERNING CUBA'S ROLE IN THE NON-ALIGNED MOVEMENT AND BELIZE.

5. WILLS SAID THAT THE GUYANESE RESPONSE HAD BEEN THAT THEY WOULD MAKE NO POSITION ON THE AFRICAN MATTERS UNTIL THE OAU HAD TAKEN ITS POSITION. THE GOG WOULD NOT TAKE SIDES IN THE DISPUTES ON THE EASTERN HORN OF AFRICA BUT, FOR INTERNAL REASONS, THEY WOULD OPPOSE ANY SECESSION EFFORTS OR OTHER ATTEMPTS TO SPLIT OFF PIECES OF TERRITORY FROM EXISTING STATES. ON ANGOLA, GUYANA HAD AGREED THAT THE ANGOLAN STATE SHOULD BE PROTECTED FROM OUTSIDE AGGRESSION BUT HAD TOLD VIVO THAT THEY SAW NO REASON WHY ANGOLA BACKED THE INVASION OF ZAIRE.

6. WILLS SAID CASTRO'S EMISSARY DESCRIBED THE STATUS OF CUBA'S RELATIONS WITH THE UNITED STATES AS "DE FACTO RELATIONS." CUBA'S OBJECTIVE WAS TO OBTAIN THE LIFTING OF THE TRADE EMBARGO. HOWEVER, VIVO SAID THE TWO

SYSTEMS COULD NOT REALLY EXIST IN FRIENDSHIP. WILLS  
SAID GOG OFFICIALS HAD TOLD VIVO THAT GUYANA HAD TO "BUILD  
ITS BRIDGES" WITH THE UNITED STATES.

7. WILLS SAID HE HAD RESPONDED TO VIVO'S QUERY ON THE  
PANAMA CANAL BY SAYING THAT THE PANAMANIANS SEEMED TO  
BE NEARING AGREEMENT WITH THE UNITED STATES, AND THAT  
THERE WAS NOTHING THAT GUYANA COULD DO ON THIS ISSUE.

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 GEORGETOWN 1547

8. ON BELIZE, VIVO MENTIONED POSSIBLE CUBAN ROLE  
AND GOG LEADERS HAD TOLD VIVO THAT THEY THOUGHT THAT  
THE US AND CUBA WERE THE ONLY ONES IN THE WESTERN  
HEMISPHERE IN A POSITION TO DEFEND BELIZE IN THE EVENT  
OF AN ATTACK FROM GUATEMALA, BUT THEY HAD INSISTED THERE  
SHOULD BE NO INTERFERENCE IN BELIZE UNLESS PREMIER PRICE  
REQUESTED HELP.

9. IN COMMENTING ON HIS INTERPRETATION OF THE PURPOSE  
UNDERLYING VIVO'S VISIT, WILLS SAID THE SOVIET UNION WAS  
TRYING TO WORK THROUGH CUBA AND USE THE OAU AND THE NON-  
ALIGNED MOVEMENT AS LEVERS IN FORGING A "NEW INTERNATIONALE"  
OF COUNTRIES RATHER THAN PARTIES. IN EAST AFRICA THIS  
WAS MANIFEST IN THEIR ATTEMPT TO FORGE A COALITION OF  
RADICAL STATES ON THE SOUTHERN FLANKS OF THE  
MODERATE ARAB STATES. THE SOVIET UNION IN THIS  
WAY WOULD TRY TO INCREASE ITS INFLUENCE AND ROLE

IN MIDDLE EAST AFFAIRS.

10. WILLS SAID GUYANA'S POLICY WOULD BE TO QUIETLY  
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OPPOSE ANY CUBAN EFFORT TO RADICALIZE THE NON-ALIGNED MOVEMENT AT THIS STAGE, PARTICULARLY IN AFRICA. SUCH RADICALIZATION WOULD PLACE DANGEROUS STRAINS ON THE OAU. HE OPINED THAT CASTRO WAS SEEKING TO INCREASE CUBA'S INFLUENCE IN THE NAM PRIOR TO THE NAM FOREIGN MINISTERS MEETING IN BELGRADE NEXT YEAR AND PREPARE FOR PLAYING A DOMINANT ROLE DURING THE NAM'S 1979 HEADS OF GOVERNMENT MEETING IN HAVANA.

11. COMMENT: DESPITE WILLS TENDENCY TO SPEAK IN DEFINITE TERMS ABOUT WHAT THE GOG POSITION WILL BE, HIS COMMENTS SHOULD BE INTERPRETED BY US AS REPRESENTING THE DRIFT OF GOG THINKING NOW. INVARIABLY, THE GOG OPPOSES SECESSION EFFORTS. THE CURRENT TREND IN THE GOG'S THINKING ON A NUMBER OF ISSUES FAVORS MODERATION. ON THE OTHER HAND, GUYANESE LEADERS BEND IN THE FACE OF PERSISTENT AND SKILLFUL PERSUASION--BY THE CUBANS, THE SOVIETS OR THE US.

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